Chapter 7

Shakespearian Space-Men

Spatial Rules in London's Early Playhouses

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Introduction

With their distinctive circular-polygonal shape, London's early playhouses were a short-lived architectural phenomenon. The two earliest short-lived playhouses were probably rectangular (Bowsher 2011: 456–57) and likely developed out of pre-existing buildings; the Red Lion (1567) was in a Middlesex farmhouse courtyard, and the Newington Butts (c. 1575) playhouse was of unknown form converted from a 'messauge' of tenements or domestic dwellings (Wickham, Berry and Ingram 2000: 290, 320). The major circular/polygonal purpose-built playhouses were constructed between 1576 and 1614, excepting the Fortune which was originally rectangular. These were: the Theatre (1576), the Curtain (1577), the Swan (c. 1596), the Rose (1587), the Globe (1599), the Fortune (1600) (rectangular) and the Hope (1613–14) (Wickham, Berry and Ingram 2000; Mackinder et al. 2013). Those not already defunct were closed by Parliament in 1642, meaning the first 'playhouse period' only spanned around seventy-five years. As vernacular buildings designed by the theatrical community, playhouses were unique, purpose-built venues for theatre's new era of commercialism. Yet despite their unusual design, playhouses also present a concise architectural expression of evolving spatial rules in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Late Elizabethan and early Jacobean architectural culture, of which playhouses were a product, were designed to underpin a complex network of state-enforced social identity linked to spatial zones. As will be

shown, where a body appeared within a defined spatial plane, particularly vertical planes, was a vital demarcation of social identity. It was within an architectural setting that body-identities were most fully expressed and received. This system of spatial identity was based on an individual's inherited social rank and the office they held. In its simplest, most derivative form, it was the feudalistic hierarchy of royalty, nobility and workers played out in a top-down ordering of space (Hazard 2000). Superficially, playhouses repeated these long-standing rules in what has been termed their 'vertical sociology' (Gurr and Ichikawa 2000: 8).

This chapter, however, approaches playhouse spatiality beyond 'vertical sociology'. It situates playhouses within a broader reordering of space of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (Girouard 2009). Playhouses are compared to contemporary churches and elite residences, all of which had to accommodate highly stratified social groups of audiences, congregations, and the family-servant spectrum in large houses. Many of the spatial changes discussed were initiated by the *nouveau riche* of a burgeoning Elizabethan middle class (Howard 1994) who were undermining the privilege of inherited status with their purchasing power. This 'middle class' was not homogeneous, but comprised a range of (newer) classes: the artisans, merchant citizens, and the literati in education and clergy (Gurr 2004: 58). In the developing capitalist society of Elizabethan and Jacobean England, exclusive spaces, previously allocated by bloodline, were now available for a price (Howard 1994: 75). Thus, it is suggested that playhouses not only contributed to a reordering of spatial rules, but were also a microcosm of destabilized social categories.

Past Approaches

From an archaeological perspective, playhouses are ripe for exploration. Despite the award-winning monograph on the Rose (1989) and Globe (1988–91) excavations (Bowsher and Miller 2009), the British Museum exhibition 'Shakespeare Staging the World' in 2012 (Bate and Thornton 2012), and recent partial excavations of the Hope (1999–2001) (Mackinder et al. 2013), the Theatre (2008–11) and the Curtain (Bowsher 2012), early playhouses have rarely been incorporated into wider theoretical discussions in archaeology (although see Bowsher 2007). Playhouse studies are predominantly undertaken by theatre historians, with discussions centred on their reconstruction, appraising their audiences, synthesizing plays with staging practices, and debating the extent of the theatrical community's political power and social capital (e.g. Mullaney 1988; Orrell 1988;

Howard 1994; Montrose 1996; Gurr and Ichikawa 2000; Gurr 2004; Karim-Cooper and Stern 2013).

While such studies commonly employ excavated evidence, archaeology has largely served as an empirical benchmark against which various document-derived theories are measured for viability. However, an explicitly archaeological perspective of playhouses is equally capable of going beyond reconstruction. Traditionally, archaeological approaches to space have explored binary structures: front/back, private/public, clean/dirty, male/female, etc., and degrees of access to the innermost zones of a building (e.g. Schofield 1994). Colin Counsell (1996) employed a Foucaldian framework of power and sight to explore how intervisibility was facilitated by spatial codes across pre- and post-Renaissance theatre in buildings both real and metaphorical. Jean Wilson (1995) produced a rare and welcome synthesis of other contemporary built structures and material culture to stimulate fresh approaches to reconstructing the playhouse interiors. Although reconstruction is not the goal here, this study builds on Wilson's contribution by examining more recent contextual evidence to illuminate broader changes to Elizabethan-Jacobean spatial rules.

This approach explores spatial rules prevalent in the architectural culture of the period, contextualizing playhouse design. It synthesizes a variety of micro and macro-boundaries that demarcated, segregated or incorporated body-identities within the built environment of Elizabethan-Jacobean England. This broad-brushstroke approach deliberately moves away from the detailed appraisals of playhouse individuality, concentrating instead on their shared characteristics as a building type. Discussion first centres on the documentary evidence for playhouses as inherently transgressive spaces, which dislocated bodies from the familiar spatial rules of society. Comparisons are then made between the spatial ordering in playhouses and other architectural structures of the period from excavated and standing remains. Specific emphasis on elevation, compartmentalization and mobility illuminates new ways in which body-identity and body-practice were being structured, and existing spatial rules challenged.

Playhouses as Transgressive Spaces

Stephen Mullaney (1988) highlighted the spatial and cultural liminality of playhouses, noting how suburban playhouses were built beyond the jurisdiction of London's city authorities. Indeed, the City's concerted opposition to the suburban playhouses dissolved into 'anything resembling a

partnership in regulation' (Whitney 2001: 178) and in his appraisal of City-playhouse relations, Ian Archer (2009: 412) concludes: 'The City authorities had indeed driven the players into the suburbs.' The earliest known purpose-built playhouses (therefore excluding the Red Lion to the east and Newington Butts to the south) appeared north of the city limits (the Theatre, the Curtain), later joined by the Fortune in 1600 (Wickham, Berry and Ingram 2000: 330, 404, 531). The Rose, the Globe, the Swan, and the Hope were in the suburbs of Bankside, south of the River Thames (Wickham, Berry and Ingram 2000: 211, 419, 437, 493, 595). This helped the theatrical community avoid prosecution under the Vagabond Act (1576), which listed unlicensed players on a legal par with thieves, beggars, prostitutes and vagrants (Montrose 1996: 54). Bankside was in a liminal zone known as the 'Liberty of the Clink', which stretched south of the Thames (Mullaney 1988: 1–58). This area held many buildings dedicated to illegal and immoral activities, such as brothels, which, although suppressed in 1546, reappeared in the expensive 'Holland's Leaguer' brothel, contributing to Bankside's reputation (Bowsher 2012: 20). Animal-baiting arenas, 'the Clink' prison (Mullaney 1988: 1–58) and malodorous trades, such as tanning (Johnson 1969: 304) and soap-making (cf. Orrell 1988) also made up Bankside's liminal environment (Carlin 1996).

Despite their popularity across social classes (Gurr 2004: 58–94), playhouses were contested spaces. London's Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Puritan preachers and concerned citizens repeatedly petitioned the Privy Council for their abolition, citing the moral degeneracy of their plays and the immoral behaviour playhouses facilitated (Yachnin 1997: 21). Antitheatrical tracts of the period brought numerous moral charges against players and their playhouses as a dislocating agent. The transvestism of males playing females, the occult content of certain plays, allusions to Catholic spectacle, and the inclusion of politically and morally volatile themes were all openly and unsympathetically questioned by many outside the profession (see Howard 1994; Montrose 1996).

In her survey of antitheatrical sources, Jean Howard (1994: 24–27) identified a strong denouncement of playhouses for displacing bodies. For example, nonconformist preacher John Northbrook's *A Treatise wherein Dicing, Dauncing, Vaine Playes or Enterludes … are reproved* (1577) warned females against attending playhouses, because it displaced them from their defining normative locale (the home). Playhouses set their bodies on display to the gaze of male playgoers and, more dangerously, could incite female lust as they returned the male gaze (Howard 1994: 24–25). Northbrook equally condemned playhouses for dislocating the faithful body from church (especially Sunday performances), the idle body from employment and the active body from the workplace (Howard 1994: 27).

Social rules of propriety, bodily proximity and location were considered to be compromised by entering playhouse space.

Moreover, playhouses presented a violation of state-enforced dress codes. Sumptuary Laws, established by Henry VIII, prescribed which social classes could wear certain fabrics, accessories and colours (Gurr and Ichikawa 2000: 4). This meant that playhouse audiences could 'read' the intended identity of the player or playgoer based on composite elements of a single outfit. According to playgoers and antitheatricalists, audience zones played a pivotal role in reiterating rank to fellow playgoers (Gurr 2004). As a Continental tourist, Thomas Platter, noted following a visit to the Globe in 1599:

> There are different galleries and places, however, where the seating is better and more comfortable and therefore more expensive. For whoever cares to stand below [in the yard] pays only one English penny, but if he wishes to sit in the most comfortable seats which are cushioned, where he not only sees everything well, but can also be seen, then he pays yet another English penny at another door. (Wickham, Berry and Ingram 2000: 413)

A similar description was made by Lambarde in 1596 (Wickham, Berry and Ingram 2000: 297). A 'Lord's Room' is mentioned in the Rose accounts of 1592; the Fortune contract mentions 'Gentlemen's rooms' and 'two-penny Rooms', while the 1604 Globe had 'private rooms' and the 1614 Hope contract mentions 'two boxes in the lowermost storey', each available to spectators at an additional cost (Bowsher and Miller 2009: 115–16). The exact location of these rooms is unclear (see below). Presumably the 'rule' was that wealthier patrons were expected to sit or stand in these more exclusive, expensive areas. Yet the rule of 'vertical sociology' was by no means watertight. There are references to playgoers entering the 'wrong' social zone. For example, a Venetian ambassador decided to watch in the Curtain's yard to the horror of his companions (Wickham, Berry and Ingram 2000: 415). Cut-purses, some described as remarkably well dressed, were well known for entering the middle galleries for more fruitful opportunities (Gurr 2004: 78). Alternative activities amongst playgoers in galleries and rooms took place, including sleeping, smoking, gaming, talking and flirting (Gurr 2004: 226; Bowsher and Miller 2009: 158). Gurr and Ichikawa (2000: 68, 141) argue that players performed in upper galleries above the stage, acting out death scenes in amongst the wealthier playgoers. If so, even players broke the spatial 'rules' of playhouse stratigraphy.

Attending playhouses was as much about the playgoer's performance amongst his or her peers as the players onstage. Identity was meant to be 'read' from an interweaving of clothing colours and materials; hairstyle,

accessories, gesture and degree of bodily elevation within the crowd (see Hazard 2000). Yet this complex system was hugely undermined by low-born male players dressing as females and impersonating a range of high-born characters (Gurr and Ichikawa 2000: 3). Platter commented:

> The actors are most expensively and elaborately costumed; for it is the English usage of eminent lords or knights at their decease to bequeath and leave almost the best of their clothes to their serving men, which it is unseemly for the latter to wear, so that they offer them for sale for a small sum to the actors. (Wilson 1995: 63)

Players wore costumes in colours and materials well beyond their social rank, thus hiding their true status as servants and encouraging audiences to play along with the deceit (Gurr and Ichikawa 2000: 6, 53). As Howard (1994: 27) surmised, playhouses were 'connected with the loss and confusion of identity… [and] usurpation, seizing a social position which one does not, by one's birth, deserve, aspiring to an identity which can therefore be discredited as illusory, counterfeit, deceptive'. Although licensed companies were exempt from Sumptuary Laws (which were abolished in 1604), antitheatricalists denounced players for their deliberate deception. Elizabeth I's mandatory national sermon 'Against Excess of Apparel' was often cited, which warned against wearing socially inappropriate clothing as it was offensive to both God and the monarch (Howard 1994: 32–33). For antitheatricalists, simply attending playhouses made all playgoers complicit in this deceit, and in Protestant theology any false illusion was the work of the Devil (Howard 1994: 16). Thus, 'Sathan's Synagogues' (Northbrook) became arenas known for social and religious defiance where familiar social rules were undermined and normative locales abandoned.

Physical Space

Having briefly appraised key textual evidence for playhouses as marginal spaces, we turn to the buildings themselves. Unlike churches, elite residences and indoor theatres, playhouses were not inherited spaces. Although each playhouse was unique in its details, they shared general characteristics with some copying and competition between designers. The Globe was built from the dismantled timbers of the Theatre, both owned by different generations of the Burbage family (Wilson 1995: 69–81). The building contract for Henslowe and Alleyn's Fortune playhouse uses and improves upon the Globe (see below). The Rose excavations and the Fortune building contract therefore provide substantial evidence of their

overall design and derivatives of their design, and thus form the basis of the following contextualization.

The Rose (1587–c.1606)

The Rose was one of the smaller playhouses, its yard estimated to have originally accommodated between 400 and 530 people, and between 550 and 740 after remodelling in 1592 (Bowsher and Miller 2009: 157). A footbridge over the southern sewer-ditch led to a narrow main entrance, creating a deliberate bottleneck of traffic to ensure that playgoers did not escape paying (Bowsher and Miller 2009: 111). A ceramic money box recovered from the Rose's *ingressus* suggests additional payment was collected at gallery thresholds, mirrored in contemporary references to the Theatre (Bowsher and Miller 2009: 46, 133) (Figure 7.1).

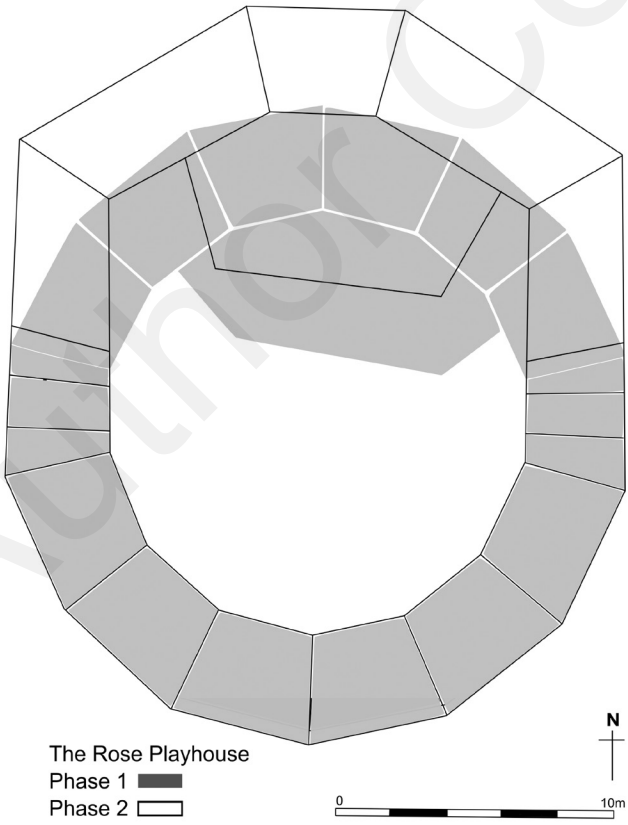

Figure 7.1 The Rose Playhouse: phases 1 and 2 (after Bowsher and Miller 2009; redrawn, simplified, coloured and phases overlain by Ruth Nugent)

The Swan, the Globe, the Fortune and the Hope all definitely had three galleries, and though two galleries at the Rose have been conjectured (Greenfield 2007: 31–34), it likely had three, which was the standard. A dripline created by rainwater running off the gallery's eaves into the Rose's yard does not indicate whether one or all of them were jettied. Excavated floors and a timber balustrade suggest that its first gallery was separated from the yard by a 10 ft (3.05 m) timber 'wall' (Bowsher and Miller 2009: 17–18, 113), in an era where the average adult male was only 5'6" (1.67 m) tall (Greenfield and Gurr 2004: 336). Greenfield and Gurr (2004) argue that this height was a safety measure for additional animal-baiting. However, the depth and raking of the floor, which sloped down northwards, and the fact that the Rose had no animal licence, make this an unlikely theory (Bowsher 2007; Bowsher and Miller 2009: 131–32).

The Rose was later remodelled, probably in 1592 according to Henslowe's diary (Bowsher and Miller 2009: 54). The second Rose focused on enhancing the stage by rebuilding it with a new tiring-house/stage wall 2 m north of the first, and two timber columns were installed to support a stage canopy (Bowsher and Miller 2009: 58–59, 64). Although the new stage was almost identical in size (47.6 m^2), it was redesigned to thrust into the yard so that players could perform on several frontages (Bowsher and Miller 2009: 58–59, 136). A plaster surface inside the stage perimeter indicated a below-stage area for trapdoor exits and storage (Bowsher 2007: 64).

The northern galleries were pushed back to increase their sightlines of the newly canopied and thrust stage. Conversely, the yard floor, which was originally raked to enable those standing at the back to see the stage, was levelled before 1592 (Bowsher and Miller 2009: 49, 54, 59). Henslowe's 1592 'penthowsse shed' built against the 'tyeringe howsse doore' was probably placed to the west of the tiring house (Bowsher and Miller 2009: 111–12). Backstage at the first Rose were three 12 ft (3.66 m)-deep 'rooms' built into the gallery, probably for storage, administration and potentially rehearsals (Bowsher and Miller 2009: 137). No physical evidence of the stage *frons scenae* (back wall) survive. DeWitt's sketch of the Swan's interior (Figure 7.2) provides a general idea of construction, although neither definitive nor perfectly rendered (Foakes 1985: 52–55). However, it may represent how the Rose stage was moved forward from the gallery façade (Bowsher pers. comm.). Wilson (1995: 81, 135) argued they were based on existing hall screens from great houses used by patronized troupes for performances.

Stairs from the yard into the galleries (ingresses) were original features (Bowsher and Miller 2009: 45, 111–12). If the Rose had external entrances to the gallery, they were probably later additions, although the small

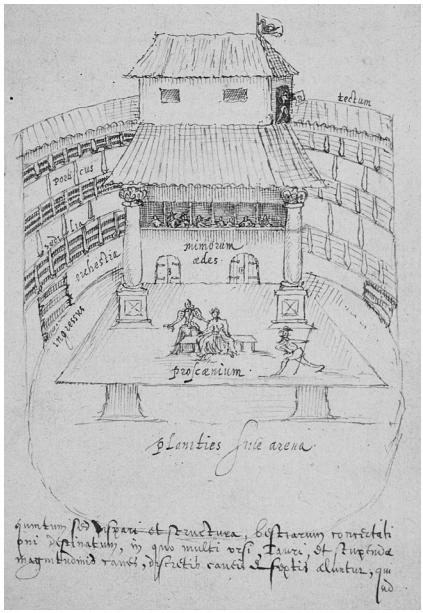

Figure 7.2 Buchelius' copy of DeWitt's sketch of the Swan c. 1596 (Utrecht, University Library, Ms. 842, f.132r. Reproduced with permission of the University of Utrecht Library).

Figure 7.3 'The Wits, or Sport upon Sport' frontispiece, 1662 (Folger Library, W3218. Reproduced with permission of the Folger Library)

plot of land may not have facilitated this (Bowsher and Miller 2009: 115). The Globe excavations revealed what may be the foundations of a stair-tower to the galleries from the 1614 rebuild, which marries with contemporary depictions of two either side of the main entrance. There are also suggestions of multiple staircases within the Fortune contract (Bowsher and Miller 2009: 115).

The Fortune (1600)

All amphitheatre-style playhouses were timber-framed circular-polygonal structures, except the first Fortune, which was originally rectangular, but seems to have been rebuilt circular in brick (see Bowsher 2012: 101–3). Citing the Globe's layout, Henslowe's building contract for the Fortune required:

> Juttey forwardes in eyther side of the saide Two upper Stories of Tenne ynches of lawfull assize, with ffower [four] convenient divisions for gentlemens roomes,

> and other sufficient and convenient divisions for Twoe pennie roomes, with necessarie Seates to be placed and sett, Aswell in those roomes as throughеoute all the rest of the galleries … and with such like steares [stairs], Conveyances and divisions withoute and within, as are made and Contryved in and to the late erected Plaiehowse On the Banck in the saide parishe of Ste Saviours Called the Globe. (Foakes 2002: 307)

Henslowe specifies jettied galleries, potentially suggesting that this new trend was not at the Globe by the time the Fortune contract was written. Although there is a danger of arguing from silence here, jettied galleries at the Fortune may have been a way of outshining a competing playhouse.

The Fortune's gallery heights were to be 12 ft (3.67 m) for the lowest gallery, 11 ft (3.52 m) high for the second and 9 ft (2.74 m) for the third gallery (Foakes 2002: 306–15). The lowest gallery was also to be 'laide over and fenced with strong yron pykes', presumably to prevent 'groundlings' from climbing into the gallery without paying (Foakes 2002: 308). The tiring house was to have 'convenient windows and lightes glazed' and the stage had a canopy copying the Globe's. The main roof, and stage and staircase roofs were tiled and the stage floor was also tiled (Foakes 2002: 308–9).

Summarizing Playhouse Space

Social segregation was enforced using high boundaries between yard and galleries, separate entrances, private rooms and later external staircases to the galleries. This ensured payment and allowed faster access to higher floors without taking up lucrative seating space inside the galleries (Bowsher and Miller 2009: 114–15). The players themselves had arguably the most exclusive, defining spaces. The stage, understage, tiring house and backstage entrance were largely off-limits to playgoers. Unlike the expensive indoor hall-theatres, gallants could not sit on stools on stage at playhouses (Gurr 2004: 36).

A 'Lord's Room' is mentioned in contemporary accounts and plays as an expensive, exclusive space within the public playhouses (Egan 1997). In the Fortune and Hope contracts, the Lord's Room is distinct from 'two-penny galleries' and 'gentleman's rooms' (Gurr 1994: 38). Its location, however, is unclear and two schools of thought have emerged. Some argue that it was situated above or behind the stage (e.g. Hosley 1957; Berry 1987: 50–66; Gurr and Ichikawa 2000: 68, 141; Gurr 2004: 22, 25). Others disagree, emphasizing them as flanking the stage (e.g. Egan 1997; Bowsher and Miller 2009: 115–16; Bowsher 2011: 462). Lords' and gentlemans' rooms may have been paired together on both sides of the stage, or one to the left and the other to the right (Egan 1997: 309).

Whatever their arrangement, the wealthier guests who hired them may have been permitted to share the backstage entrance with players to enter the 'Lords' Rooms' and, as conjectured by Gurr and Ichikawa (2000: 68, 141), players may have acted amongst them in these rooms. If so, players may have subtly communicated a degree of legitimacy for their liminal profession by harnessing spatial rules of restricted space and elite identity. Mingling exclusively with the wealthiest attendees would enhance such a statement.

Introducing thrust stages also recentred the players as the focal point, competing with the bodily display of playgoers. The stage canopy not only protected expensive costumes from bad weather but also accommodated lifting machinery for players and props to rise and descend (Foakes 2002: 7). Its supporting columns meant that the galleries either side were moved outwards to improve their sightlines, with groundlings at the front now able to engage with players on three sides of the stage (Bowsher 2011: 462). However, the yard's slope towards the stage was less pronounced in the remodel (Bowsher 2011: 462), meaning that those at the back would have had a reduced view of the stage. Gaining the attention of the more influential gallery audiences may have been a new priority.

Although the stage was still beneath the higher galleries, by commanding great intervisibility, players situated themselves within the rules of vertical sociology not by spatial plane, but by commanding visual space.

Contextualizing Playhouses: Churches

Communality

In churches, communality was the new spatial rule. Protestant remodelling had decentralized the altar and removed divisions such as rood screens and associated lofts, to form a more open-plan rectangular space (Howard 2007: 60). The axis of medieval churches used for Catholic processions was deactivated and central space made squarer to facilitate communal worship prescribed by the *Common Book of Prayer* (1559) (Howard 2007: 61–62). Thus, creating exclusive areas became the signature of wealth and power in this period. Nowhere was this more overt than inside churches.

In response, those who could afford it were actively purchasing and investing in private spaces, challenging the intention of communal worship. Space was subdivided into private box-pews and the regular pew backs heightened to screen and segregate the body (Llewellyn 2000: 239, 242). Surviving box-pews at Worthenbury church, Wrexham and at Rycote Chapel, Oxfordshire provide early seventeenth-century prototypes for great covered family pews as well as the new canopied box pulpits to

Figure 7.4 Surviving box-pews in Worthenbury church (reproduced with the permission of Howard Williams)

isolate and elevate the preacher (Girouard 2009: 282–83) (Figure 7.4). The early seventeenth century witnessed a surge of new, exclusively owned pews, so being seated for sermons became a luxury. These new pews dominated viewscapes within the church because of their massive height (Llewellyn 2000: 238–39). They were simultaneously attention-seeking yet private spaces, akin to the exclusive but highly visible private rooms at playhouses.

Elevation of the body was also transforming. Although recumbent effigies continued to be installed in churches, a new fashion for the deceased to be depicted kneeling, often surrounded by standing mourners, indicates a movement of the represented body from a static, horizontal position to an active, vertical position (Llewellyn 2000: 368–70). Space will not permit further detailing of the theological shift accompanying this, but suffice to say the monumental body was also being elevated. Similarly, the introduction of wall memorials in the mid sixteenth century meant that new upper-body bust styles were starting to climb the vertical plane of the church walls, looking down on the congregation below (Llewellyn 2000: 239–42, 369).

Funerary monuments had to be appropriate in size, decoration and location to the status of the deceased, and even their raw materials were situated within a hierarchy (Llewellyn 2000: 237–39). New styles of funerary monumentality at the turn of the seventeenth century included four, six and eight-poster tombs and arched-wall tombs to increase the vertical height of the dead (Llewellyn 2000: 242). These created a sense of space and intervisibility between the posters rather than the heavily canopied

late medieval tombs. Although this allowed intervisibility between family pews, monuments and sacred space, the sheer size of such tombs was on an unprecedented scale (Llewellyn 2000: 242; Howard 2007: 60). However, Nigel Llewellyn (2000: 239) documents the mockery and resentment aimed at social climbers who commissioned inappropriately oversized tombs, flaunting regulations of space and materiality. Rules of spatial identity were highly contentious, even for the dead.

Commemoration within the chancel rail was considered a prime space since it 'was also a theatrical setting, for the chancel held the congregation's attention throughout much of the service' (Llewellyn 2000: 237). Space here was also limited, putting it at a premium, and inscriptions mention regret that the monument is in a poor location, not as false modesty, but as genuine regret for displacing a worthy person from a worthy space (Llewellyn 2000: 237). In both churches and playhouses, two venues where socially mixed groups met in a defined setting, personal space was not simply enough. Premium space was spatially connected to the most active areas of the building. Now the church faithful, marginal player, and self-aggrandising playgoer in their box were relying not just on proximity to privileged space, but to be remembered within *active* space.

Contextualizing Playhouses: Elite Residences

Elevation and Third Height

Apart from the introduction of galleries, most large Elizabethan residences simply remodelled earlier buildings (Girouard 2009: 76). In the early to mid sixteenth century, residences were usually only two storeys high above ground, although corner towers and attic rooms could give the impression of height and status. But by the 1570s, internal rooms were higher and external towers and gables were being built even taller as a way of demonstrating impressive social standing (Girouard 2009: 272–73). Architectural height within the landscape was a major component of spatial status.

A third floor was commonly added by installing a floor in high-ceilinged halls (Howard 2007: 2) and exterior entrance porches were being built in three tiers to match (Girouard 2009: 118–19). As a result, rooms were reordered. The upper storey had previously been for minor rooms, but three-storey houses were shifting their principal rooms into the third floor, fronted by great windows (Girouard 2009: 273). The power of 'third height' had currency in the playhouse period to communicate prestige, where three tiers of galleries seem to have been standard (see Figure 7.1). For example, the Bear Garden of 1583 was specifically rebuilt as a

playhouse with three tiers instead of one or two, which was deliberately copied at the Hope and Davies Bear Garden (Mackinder et al. 2013: 20). Although a third gallery was not necessarily built purely as an expression of social status by the theatrical community – after all, it allowed for more paying customers – it likely resonated with both players and playgoers as a type of new, elite space bolstering 'vertical sociology'. Internal porches developed in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, with surviving examples at Sizergh Castle, Westmoreland; Bradfield, Devon, and Broughton Castle, Oxfordshire (Girouard 2009: 352–53). These acted as small entrance chambers between two rooms, often only big enough for two or three individuals at most. They were richly decorated portals or holding places between important rooms. The compartmentalization of a (guest) body in this manner suggests a deepening interest in the rules of space as a method of power, controlling rhythms and levels of access.

Similarly, hall screens divided guests from the household, allowing a stranger's social rank to be gauged before entering (Hazard 2000: 155). Although these were traditional elements of Tudor residences, they were either retained or being built into the mid seventeenth century (Girouard 2009: 90). The theatrical community recreated hall-screen designs for their frontispieces depicting the profession, and in their coronation arches which actors performed around as the monarch passed through these symbolic thresholds (Wilson 1995: 81, 135; Ronayne 1997: 125–27; Hazard 2000: 146, 155). Thus, it is very plausible hall screens influenced stage facades. For Tudor performances in elite residences, the gallery above the hall screen was a marginal area used by the musicians (Hazard 2000: 149, 152). However, the gallery above the hall-screen-style playhouse stage generated prestige in terms of price, elevation, visibility and physical segregation. While this resonates strongly with indoor theatres and private residences, DeWitt's Swan sketch depicts screens and balconies in playhouses with similar potential. Berry (1987: 178–79) has argued that boxes for elites to sit in were located behind the stage at the indoor Blackfriars theatre, although this is merely conjecture. Nonetheless, private rooms seem to have been in prominent places, adjoining or above the stage, providing the worst view of the stage but the most self-aggrandizing position in the playhouse, as depicted in the later 'The Wits, or Sport upon Sport' frontispiece of 1662 (Figure 7.3). A minor space in grand houses was now equated with the luxuries of privacy and restricted access, emphasizing an inversion of spatial rules in playhouses. The appropriation of hall screens by the theatrical profession would indicate awareness of spatial segregation as a characteristically elite privilege. Increased compartmentalization such as this, combined with new elevations, redefined spatial orders in grand residences. These new rules are analogous to the elevated

rooms compartmentalizing elite bodies in playhouses, where people were prepared to pay extra for this privilege.

Galleries

The new Elizabethan architectural innovation for larger residences was the gallery (later termed a 'long gallery') (Girouard 2009: 69). Galleries were glazed corridors on upper stories, some running the length of the building, to promenade, enjoy the view, and display family and royal portraits (Girouard 2009: 71). They were particularly popular at royal residences, such as Hampton Court (e.g. the Queen's Gallery, built 1533–37), with more modest versions appearing in mid to late sixteenth-century non-royal houses as well (Girouard 2009: 69–70). Owners competed to have the most impressive gallery and 'from the 1570s till the 1620s every new house of any importance had to have a gallery no less than 100 ft in length' (Girouard 2009: 70–71). Flat, lead-floored roofs also became popular installations for elevated promenading and impressive vistas (Girouard 2009: 91). A new desire for movement and vistas influenced architectural codes of status.

Tiffany Stern (2000) demonstrates from a variety of textual sources that promenading through playhouse galleries during performances was commonplace. Not all performances were sell-out affairs, leaving playgoers room to manoeuvre to better viewpoints in both the yard and the galleries. This also suggests that gallery seats did not always provide an ideal view of the stage. It raises the issue as to whether seating was fixed or moveable. Views of a static stage would have been easier to orchestrate, unlike the Bear Gardens where action moved around the arena, forcing spectators in upper galleries to leave their seats in order to see (Bowsher pers. comm.). Moving about also occurred in private rooms. At the Fortune in 1617, Orazio Busoni, chaplain to the Venetian embassy, had an 'elegant dame' move around with her entourage to sit with him during the performance, apparently a common occurrence (Stern 2000: 215; Gurr 2004: 236, 276). Stern (2000: 212–13) has pointed out that DeWitt labelled the third gallery at the Swan a 'porticus', which was defined in *Riders Dictionarie* (1606) as 'a porch, gallerie, or walking place'. DeWitt was using classical Vitruvian architectural grammar to describe what he was seeing, relating it to an open walkway atop a building (Bowsher pers. comm.). The third gallery in the Fortune contract was much lower in height than the preceding two galleries, which may have prevented as many bleacher-style tiered seats being installed because of reduced head height. Fewer seats but the same room depth would have provided room to promenade. Although playhouse galleries were designed for sitting, the new fashion for promenading at home was transferred to these zones. In churches, seating was a new

privilege and the cost of seats at playhouses suggests that the same rule applied. Those who promenaded in galleries and rooms, however, may have been citing this new, elite trend in architectural culture. They were potentially distinguishing themselves not only through elevation and compartmentalization, but also through mobility, suggesting a complex layering of spatial cues. Again, the fresh emphasis on *active* zones added a new dimension to spatial identity.

Great Chambers

Kent Rawlinson (2012) highlights the importance of great halls at royal residences under Henry VIII for the performance of 'triumphs'. In Elizabethan great houses, the great chamber was the focal point of the building and lavishly furnished (Girouard 2009: 68). Here guests were formally received, command performances were held, and the owner would eventually be laid in state in this room (Girouard 2009: 68). When not in formal use, it acted as a common room for servants not on duty, where they could play cards and board games; Lord Berkeley was known to have joined in during the 1570s, whereas the Earl of Huntington banned yeomen from gaming in his great chamber in 1609 (Girouard 2009: 68). These multifunctional great chambers were simultaneously formal and informal spaces, defined not so much by their decoration as by the activities performed by different social groups. Likewise, alternative activities taking place in the six-penny and two-penny rooms (hereinafter penny-rooms; Bowsher and Miller 2009: 115–16) of playhouses may have been a reflection of this multilayered understanding of space. Although playhouse rooms were meant to be privileged spaces, akin to the larger great chambers, they could be treated in an informal manner, paying only a fraction of attention to their primary function. Wealthier playgoers could adapt penny-rooms to their own purposes of playgoing and gaming or reading, just as servants could adapt great chambers for their own informal entertainment. From this perspective, the rules of space did not so much dictate how a room must be used, but rather provided a template of idealized activity. Less formal behaviour relaxed the rules of intended room use. This reflects the dialectical relationship between architectural intention and the subversion or dilution of those intentions through group behaviour.

Discussion

Spatial rules were evolving along similar lines in playhouses, churches and elite residences. Similarities were not necessarily intentional since

each building had specific goals: playhouses were businesses, churches defined and expressed religious practice, and residences were statements of familial prestige. Yet each building type was part of a broader architectural culture that was manipulating rules of space and identity in new ways.

Potentially, the efficacy of the 'feudalistic' 'top-down' vertical sociology was diluted by the rise of the *nouveau riche* (e.g. Howard 1994: 75). Thus, rules of spatial identity were subtly redefined across a range of buildings. Elevation was still a status symbol, but was now emphasized through a 'third height'. Expensive effigial bodies were also moving into elevated, vertical positions on church walls and tombs. The luxury of being seated in church contrasts with the luxury of promenading in new residential galleries, but playhouses offered the best of both in their galleries and rooms. Although playhouse promenading was not necessarily a design feature, the transferral of this activity from residence to playhouse reveals the agency of playgoers in renegotiating the intended rules of certain spaces. This is mirrored in residential great chambers, where behaviour could challenge intentions of space. Its most extreme form is the subversion of the marginal hall-screen gallery into a prestigious playhouse zone. Old and new rules of space were synthesized rather than usurped.

Elevation was accompanied by compartmentalization to signify elite status, especially under imposed communality in churches. Pews, box-pews and pulpits, hall screens, internal porches, playhouse galleries and rooms all segregated bodies on multiple sides, dividing up visual space as well. Prime locales for living and dead bodies were next to active spaces, such as chancels or stages, where high visibility and proximity to the kinetic could endorse status claims. In playhouses, a dialectical relationship developed between those in expensive rooms and the players onstage, each relying on proximity to the other as a statement of social validity.

Conclusion

Playhouses destabilized rules dictating where a body should be, displacing a range of people at macro (house, workplace, church) and micro (yard, auditorium, and stage) scales. Yet these liminal buildings were employing new spatial rules found in the wider, nonmarginal world. Thus, space was simultaneously reordered and commodified. Playgoers purchased a vista – some to see the stage, some to see and be seen – but all were buying admission to socially appropriate space. Indeed, space was arguably the most tangible attribute of an otherwise 'intangible' business.

Citations of broader spatial privileges inside playhouses may have been a useful tool in legitimizing an otherwise marginal profession in a liminal landscape.

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